1: Karsten--226 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846, 553 (1928-29)

"When the delivery has taken place without complications and the woman is recovering, she is taken into the house where she remains in complete inactivity without going out. On the third day after the birth the oldest man or woman in the family gives the child a name which has before been borne by some member of the same family and which generally is the name of an animal, bird, or plant, animal and bird names being most common for men, plant names most common for women. Animals and plants are believed to be animated by human soùls (wakáni) some of which are of the male, some of the female sex, and male and female human children are named accordingly."

1: Karsten--227 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 846, 553 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro tribes of the Pastaza (the Achuares) have the following custom at the birth of the first son, called iweri. The woman, as usual, is taken out from the house to be delivered in the manioc plantation, where she remains for three days. On the fourth day she returns to the house and the newborn child is also taken there, not through the door, however, but through a hole made especially for this purpose above in the roof of the house. The father himself hands his firstborn son through this hole, the child being received inside the house by the grandfather, or the oldest member of the family. The old man, holding the little one in his arms, puts himself at the head of the male members of the family assembled there, and all start to walk round in the house chanting, beating drums, and playing on flutes. Then the old man gives the child a name borne before by some important member of the family. When the mother goes for the first time to the manioc plantation to fetch the manioc, carrying her babe on her back, she is followed there by all the men, who carry lances and other weapons. This is done with a view to protecting the newborn child and the mother against the demons (iguánchi) and evil sorcerers who might harm them on the way. This only takes place the first

time they leave the house, which is regarded as a critical moment, especially for the child. (1)"

"1. Among the Kandoashis, a tribe on the nether Pastaza closely related to the Jibaros, the woman, after having been delivered in the plantain or manioc plantation, is immediately taken back to the house. Here three large clay pots, containing warm water, are held ready at the fire. The woman sits down and washes her whole body with the water in these clay pots. She remains sitting at the fireplace without doing work for three days. After the lapse of the three days she can go to the plantations and she also begins to look after her husband who is passing his time under the mosquito-net in complete inactivity, only chanting a special incantation on behalf of his newborn child and fasting strictly. This mode of life is continued by him for a whole month. A real 'couvade' thus exists among the Kandoashis."

1: Karsten--228-229 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 846, 262 (1928-29)

"The other Jibaro tribes of Eastern Ecuador and Peru, although they do not practise the couvade in the sense that the father must lie in bed after the birth of his child, still deem it absolutely necessary that both parents should observe certain rules in regard to their diet and their mode of life. In regard to the diet, the rules are the following: --as to birds, the father and mother of the child must abstain from eating the tucan (tsukánga), the mango (chui), the wood-pecker (tatáshama), the umbrella-bird (umgúmi), the cock-of-the-rock (sumga), the wild turkey (kuyu, áwacha), and the pigeon (yámbitsa); nor must they eat the intestines of any animal, hen's eggs, or fish roes; as to fish, two common fishes are especially mentioned as prohibited food, namely, the large wambi and the sheat-fish (napi or tungá).

The dietary prescriptions just mentioned are due to the following ideas. The tucan, the mango, the wood-pecker, the umbrella-bird, and the cock-of-the-rock belong to those birds which, although they are normally eaten, are yet regarded with superstition, because it is believed that they may serve as abodes or vehicles for the magical arrow (túnchi) which the sorcerers let fly against persons whom they want to harm. By the parents eating these birds, therefore, the child may be bewitched, pine away, and die. The Jibaros use for this the expression tapiktinyu. Again, the wild turkey and the pigeon produce very loose feces and constantly excrete as if they were suffering from diarrhoea. If the parents eat these birds, therefore, their offspring will likewise have

diarrhoea--an illness to which small children are particularly exposed--and perhaps die. Similarly the child would be likely to contract diarrhoea if the parents ate the intestines of animals, or hen's eggs. As to the latter the Jibaros have the same superstition as the Canelos Indians: the feces of the child would become the same colour as the yellow of the egg, which would be the sign of some disease of the stomach. Again, if they eat fish roes, the child will get scrofula (káncha) of the head, a disease fairly common with Indian children.

The reason why the parents [JKM: after the birth of a child] must not eat the fish wámbi is connected with the mythological ideas of the Jibaros. In ancient times, when all animals had human shape, the wámbi was attacked and wounded by some of his enemies while trying to escape from the lagoon where he lived. He was badly hit by a lance, but contrived to draw it out from his body and escaped. However, he lost much blood and, owing to the wound received, has still a red tail and red fins, though the rest of him is quite white. Now if the parents eat the fish wámbi, their delicate [229] child will likewise lose blood, become anaemic, and die. Again, that they abstain from eating the sheat-fish, tungá, is due to the same considerations as make the Jibaro avoid that food after he has sown his maize fields. Since this large fish is extremely restless and violent, the consequence would be, if the parents ate it, that their babe would be 'tired out' and not get the rest necessary for a newborn child.

The sort of food just mentioned is particularly regarded as dangerous, but in their general diet the parents are extremely careful during the whole time that the child is suckled. Meat, for instance, of whatever kind it may be, they generally refuse to eat, and particularly food prepared in a strange house is always looked upon with suspicion. Frequently, when I travelled in company with Jibaro Indians, I noticed their reluctance to eat certain kinds of animal or bird, certain kinds of fruit, etc., and when I inquired about the reasons for this I often received the answer, 'I cannot eat it, for I have a sucking babe at home.'"

1: Karsten--229 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro father has also to observe several other [JKM: besides dietary restrictions] precautionary rules in his mode of life. Although it is not necessary that he should lie in bed, he must keep quiet, not go out hunting in the forest, not handle poison, nor touch a knife or any other iron instrument to do work. He must not kill a venomous snake or a jaguar, or even risk meeting such an animal, for otherwise his delicate son in the house will be frightened and die."

1: Karsten--229 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846, 784, 262 (1928-29)

"The latter precautions [JKM: no hunting or working] are observed for a shorter period, but those relating to fasting must be observed by the father not only for a few days, as among most other Indians, but for two, sometimes three years, or more strictly speaking, during the time that the child is suckled."

"The same peculiar view appears perhaps still more clearly in some of the birth customs of the CANELOS INDIANS. On the evening of the day of delivery as well as on the following morning various medicines are taken both by the mother herself and her husband, the object of which is partly to cure the former of her weakness, partly to strengthen and promote the development of the child. Thus the woman herself, on the day of delivery, has to take a drink prepared of the rind of a shrub called tzigta. Of this shrub there are various kinds, some of which are poisonous and used by the Indians for the preparation of the arrow-poison. The one given to a woman in childbirth is commonly used as a remedy for headache and other illnesses. The rind of the shrub is scraped off with a knife and boiled in water, and the woman has to drink a mucahua (clay dish containing nearly a litre) of this decoction. The remedy is supposed to have fortifying effects both upon the woman herself and the newborn child.

Early in the following morning another similar medicine is given to her. The rind of a shrub called petun cara is crushed with a club and soaked in water and a quantity of this solution is given the woman to drink. Immediately after that she has to take a similar quantity of another remedy prepared of the rind of the tree called pacai cara, boiled in water. Usually the solution of petun cara and the decoction of pacai cara are mingled and the woman has to drink a mucahua of this medicine. The medicine has the effect of a vomitory which will remove the evil from the stomach of the woman.

1: Karsten--230-231 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-2
116, 846 (1928-29)

Again, the father of the newborn child has to take certain other [231] magical drinks, which are believed to exert a favourable influence upon the latter. The rind of a tree called tsinsála is scraped off with a knife and soaked in water, and the drink is taken by the father in the afternoon after the child is born. This medicine will have the effect of strengthening the child.

On the same evening the father takes some leaves of a tree or bush called sinchi cáspi ('the tree of strength'), which he chews and swallows raw. Lastly, on the following morning the root of the same bush is taken, crushed, and boiled in water, and the decoction is drunk by the father. The sinchi caspi is supposed to have the effect of giving much strength to the newborn babe."

1: Karsten--231-232 (1916-18) 1935 . Jivaro-1
116, 846, 262 (1928-29)

"During the following eight days, or until the navel of the child is perfectly healed, the parents [JKM: of a newborn child] have to diet, and the father is obliged to observe certain other rules of abstinence. Thus they abstain from eating the tucan (sicuanga), normally so much appreciated by the Indians, because this bird may sometimes serve as the abode of a demon or as the seat of the chonta thorn (chúnta), which the sorcerers use to bewitch people with; therefore, if the parents eat the tucan, this may have the effect that the newborn child will be bewitched, pine away, and die. For the same reason they do not eat the mango, another beautiful bird of the forest used for food. They also abstain from eating the wild turkey, as well as a special kind of duck emitting a disagreeable odour, because otherwise the babe will have diarrhoea and die. Of quadrupeds they do not eat the tapir or the lumucha (Coelogenys paca), animals that are also regarded with superstition by the Indians, although they are generally eaten. Of other things forbidden to them hen's eggs are especially mentioned. If they eat eggs, the feces of the child will become the same colour as the yellow of the egg, that is, the child will have diarrhoea and die. Similarly, the parents must not drink the brandy of the whites, for this strong drink would do harm to their delicate offspring. As to the native manioc-beer (asua), they can drink it, but it must not be too strong. After the woman has been delivered, warm asua is given her.

As to fish, the parents are allowed to eat the bocachico (challua) as well as certain

sardine-like fish (called umbúni, chúti, túgshi, and shigli in the Quichua language). Small birds of the forest of the kind the Jibaros are in the habit of shooting with blowgun and unpoisoned arrows are also regarded as harmless food. A worm or larva living in the top of certain palms, called túku, the parents are even recommended to eat. The larva [232] is very fat, and therefore the parents' eating it will have the effect of making the child fat."

1: Karsten--232 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 846 (1928-29)

"During the three first days after delivery the woman does not leave the house and does not work. After that she is generally able to go to the plantation, carrying the babe on her back. The father, again, must restrict his mode of life for eight days. He does not go out hunting in the forest, for if he shoots an animal or a bird with a shot-gun or blowgun, he may at the same time shoot his little child so that it dies. Nor does he undertake any work in the forest with his machete, for if he did he might kill his own son with the knife. He must not on any account kill a poisonous snake or the demoniacal animal paca (lumucha), for then his little child, although kept safe in the house, would be frightened and die.

When after the lapse of the eight days the father goes out in the forest to work for the first time and seizes his machete, he makes cutting movements with it in the air over his son before leaving the house. The little one is thus 'hardened' against the knife, so that he will not be harmed by his father using it."

2: Stirling--111 [4] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 846

"From the time a child is born until it has begun to walk the father observes a moderate sort of couvade. During this period he abstains from eating the foods from animals or plants containing tsarutama. Such foods have power over the spirit of the child and may wreak harm upon it."

3: Simson--388 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 846

"The 'couvade' is rife among the Jívaros; and at the birth of a child, the mother has to undergo all her parturient troubles outside the house, exposed to the elements, whilst the husband quietly reclines in the house, coddling and dieting himself for some days, until he has recovered from the shock produced upon his system by the increased weight of his responsibilities as a father. This custom is still also in some measure extant in many of the civilized villages on the Solimoens, where amongst the Tapuyos, and even degrees more approached to white, the father, on the birth of a son or daughter, lays himself in the hammock, from which he will not move on any consideration to do any kind of work, nor especially to touch any cutting instrument, fearing thereby to exercise evil influences upon the healthy development of the child."

12: Rivet--608-609 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 846

At the house her [KS: post parturient mother] husband is in bed, groaning and simulating real illness (1)." Simson (2), who made a very short stay in the Jívaro village of Pintuc, also reports that the mother has to go through all the agonies of childbirth exposed to the open air, while the father [609] rests in the house, is careful of his diet and takes care of himself for several days. Colini also gave these details. (3) It is astonishing that neither Velasco, Villavicencio, Cevallos, Raimondi, Cordero, Wolfe, Reiss, nor the Dominican missionaries, nor the Jesuits, Franciscans or Salesians, speak of such a remarkable custom which would surely have attracted their attention. From my own personal information obtained from diverse sources, I feel able to affirm that among the tribes in the vicinity of Canelos, Macas Gualaquiza and Zamora, this custom has disappeared, if it ever were really practiced. It is probable that a custom existing among neighboring peoples, the Piojes in particular, has been wrongly attributed to the Jívaros.

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1. Gonzalez Suarez. Estudio historico sobre los Canaris. op. cit., page 32. The learned Ecuadorien historian does not say where he got these curious details, which, however, he did not repeat in his Historia del Ecuador.
2. Simson. op. cit., page 338.
3. Colini. Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari, op. cit., page 18.

12: Rivet--609 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 846

The Jivaro woman takes no care of herself after the birth, and does not interrupt her daily work. An Ecuadorian traveller told me of having seen an Indian woman working in her house the day after having given birth. A little more pale than ordinary, she seemed weak and tired in her movements. But her husband, on being questioned on the subject of her getting up so prematurely, answered that his wife was all right, adding "and who would do the cooking if she stayed in bed?" All the egotistical authority of the male appears in this typical response. It sums up perfectly the feelings of the savage about women; it is the brutal formula which regulates the contacts of the sexes in the forests of the eastern Ecuador.

28: Tessman--362 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 846

Immediately after the birth the father cuts a Euterpe palm in order to take out the palm cabbage, which is given to the mother in the form of soup "so that her milk may flow plentifully." Both parents, but especially the mother, must avoid certain food stuffs that might be harmful to the baby. Neither father nor mother are allowed to step upon the tracks of jaguars or tapirs; no snakes should be killed; and more such precautions must be taken. There is no lying-in for men. According to Karsten (Contributions etc., pp. 64 ff.) the father is not allowed to go hunting or to cut down a bush; he is not permitted to kill a snake, and there are other things he is not allowed to do--for a period of from two to three years.

28: Tessman--363 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 846

In his Contributions Karsten reports on the various customs connected with birth, for instance, and this is interesting, that newly-born babies are brought into the house through the roof; inside they are received by an elderly man. Then follows a dance. This is chiefly the case with the Atschual Indians.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed."

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, vomiting.

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hallucinogenic drug, *tsentsemá* (botanically unidentified). The uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucinogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival. If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again.

The child is given a name within a few days after being

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any [579] event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

• 846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc 854 and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [859] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 854 among the Jivaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female 533 539